

APPENDIX

MUSLIM CUSTOMS IN BANG CHAN

The small Muslim minority in Bang Chan though maintaining its identity, lived scattered through every hamlet, with the heaviest concentration around the mosque at the southern edge of the village. The occasional inter-marriage of Buddhist and Muslim was eventually amicably adjusted to the community and the religion. Some Buddhists manifested a veiled hostility in calling the Muslims "stingy." One said, "Muslims have expensive medicine to induce abortion, after which they might kill the baby. A Buddhist would use this medicine to help deliver, but would not dare take life." The Muslim reputation as a source for powerful magic, especially for love and sorcery, bespeaks some edginess in the relations between the 2 ethnic groups, but Buddhists sometimes sought out the benefit of this magic.

In spite of these separatist tendencies, the Muslims were fully Thai citizens, and participated as equals with the Buddhists in the economic, political and much of the social life. The 2 groups were in many respects interdependent. The Muslims did not object to taking life, so acted as butchers for the Buddhists. Muslims were frequent patients of Buddhist monks, whether priests or lay. The only Muslim who did a little curing was the Imam, head of the mosque, but few if any Buddhists came to him for cures. Because every monk gave an annual ceremony of homage to his teacher attended by everyone who had benefited from those powers during the year, Muslims and Buddhists met amiably at several large feasts. These festivals were public displays, very competitive in feeling, of the success of the different monks. One became the largest of the village-wide festivities. Buddhist women attended the Muslim female midwife, teacher-rites, and vice versa. Buddhists and Muslims, especially the prominent families, attended each other's home ceremonies, such as weddings, tonsures, and that part of the ordination held in the home (the thar khwan). Separate kitchens were established at large Buddhist ceremonies so that Muslims could safely adhere to their one dietary regulation, the avoidance of pork. No such arrangements had to be made at Muslim ceremonies for Buddhists had no food taboos, and loved Muslim cooking.

Midwifery was an area of frank, harmonious interchange, with midwives of either religion often attending women of the other. Buddhist male midwives were allowed by the Muslim husbands to attend their wives, though female attendance was preferred. Satisfaction was expressed by Buddhist women over

132 Bangkok. The tropical monsoon climate divides the year into three seasons, a hot, wet season from late May to November, a cooler, dry season from December to early February, and a hot, dry season from late February to mid-May. The community, scattered over an area of approximately five square miles, was composed of seven neighboring hamlets. In 1954, the population was approximately 1700, divided among 336 households. About 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent families, parents with unmarried children, with an average family size of 5.7 persons. The main occupation of 80 per cent of all families was rice farming.

243 The climate together with the overflowing Chao Phraya river, provided natural conditions for raising a single crop of wet rice. From May or June to February, the principal activities were those connected with rice production. This crop greatly exceeded the needs for local consumption as human food, feed, and seed. The surplus of rice which was sold, was estimated for 1953 as 1.4 times the amount used for all purposes within the village (Janlekha, 1955).

346 Wat Bang Chan, the Buddhist monastery and place for religious exercises, was also the center of social life in the community. When data for this study were being gathered, the one primary school in the village was located on the grounds of the wat. The community was defined simply by the clientele which patronized Wat Bang Chan and this elementary school. Within the area of the community lived a small minority of Thai Moslems who patronized a mosque and school just outside Bang Chan. The few Chinese in the village were considered as part of the Thai-Buddhist community. Information to be presented on food habits refers primarily to habits of the Buddhist majority, although some reference will be made to ways in which Moslem practices differed therefrom.

133 Although for six or more months of the year the fields were covered with water, sometimes to a depth of a meter or more, a year-round road, connecting Bangkok and Minburi, the nearest market town, ran through one edge of the village. Bus service was available along this road, to either Bangkok or Minburi but within the community one went by boat on the network of canals during the wet season, and during the dry season, on foot along the dikes or across fields. From late January through May, when subsidiary canals were apt to be dry, getting about was somewhat difficult. Boat travel was considered easy, but as many families had only one boat, a trip to the store or even to a neighbor's home had to be planned with reference to the activities of other family members.

443 Large scale purchases, as for a ceremony, were always made at a big market, but in general, instead of people going to the market-town, the "market" came to the people. Boat-vendors brought not only fresh produce and staples but also sweets, ices, soft drinks, and cooked foods such as Chinese

128 per day were calculated for Groups A and B by Round and for
262 all survey days (24 days for 6 families in Group A, 20 for
5 families in Group B). The total amounts eaten per capita
per day, of various food groups, and the relative nutrient
contributions of these groups were also calculated.

Results and Discussion

Socio-Economic Situation of the Two Groups of Families Studied

124 General Socio-Economic Conditions. - In the course of
the study the observers were able to obtain information, both
by inquiry and direct observation, on the economic condition
of the families. Questions about land holdings, the amount
of land farmed, number of working buffaloes owned, number of
priests to whom food was given and sources of income, were
asked during the second Round of the survey, after the par-
ticipants were acquainted with both the field workers and the
procedures. As raw foods were weighed, the observer asked if
they were home grown or prepared, and recorded the cost of
foods purchased.

125 Although our sample was not stratified with respect to
124 economic condition, the families in Group B, i.e. those
chosen for apparently better nutriture, proved to be more
prosperous than those in Group A (Table 8). With the excep-
124 tion of Household 222 in Group A, rice production was the
main source of income. Families in Group B had a greater
capital investment in land and buffalo, and worked more land,
having more productive hands per family available. Farm work
was finished sooner, hence members could begin intensive
124 fishing earlier than in Group A. All children aged 13-15, in
both groups, did light farm work and/or selling in market,
cooking, baby tending and care of buffalo. In all households,
husband or wife or both came from old families in the commu-
nity, hence had extensive kinship relations.

125 From the viewpoint of parents, the "peak of life" was
511 the time when children were no longer dependent, but produc-
511 tive, unmarried workers whose earnings stayed within the
414 family. Household 16 was such a family, forward looking,
414 progressive and optimistic. The successful and respected
couple in Household 25 would enter this "peak of life" situa-
tion in a few years. Household 20 included a widower and his
almost grown daughter living with his younger brother and the
latter's family, and their senile mother, in harmonious
cooperation. Ample land, housing, buffalo and farm labor
combined with other skills, made for good living. In House-
hold 21, two strong, unmarried sons still lived with their
elderly parents. The only poor family, of low status, in
Group B, was Household 23. By great industry, especially in

[Text continues on page 63 -- Analyst]

Table 8. Summary of Economic Conditions of the Two Groups of Households Participating in Dietary Studies

Household		Land		Buffalo ¹	Food Cost ²		No. of Priests Fed	Sources of Income
Group and Code No.	Members	Rai Worked	Rai Owned		Total	Per Cap.		
Group A								
222	5	0	0	0	2.96	0.59	0	Labor contractor; hired out as labor; boat repair; fishing; vegetables sold; canal digging.
12	3	12	0	1	2.70	0.90	0	Rice production; occasional work in Bangkok.
215	5	14	0	1	1.59	0.32	0	Rice production; wife, a medium.
67	5	16	6	1-0	2.52	0.50	0	Rice production; eggs sold; road jobs.
2	63	20	0	2	3.97	0.66	3	Rice production; "professional cook".
103	8	47	12	5	2.04	0.26	2 ⁴	Rice production; eggs, fish, mushrooms sold; buffaloes raised.
Mean		10.2	3.0	1.6	2.37	0.49	0.7	
Group B								
23	8 ³	6	0	1	1.56	0.19	0	Rice production; selling fish and vegetables; masseur.
21	4	25	25	3	1.92	0.48	3	Rice production; headman
16	8	47	47	5	2.70	0.34	2	Rice production; vegetables, fruit sold; road jobs.
25	8	50	50	3	7.97	1.00	2	Rice production; eggs, mushrooms sold.
20	9	66	51	1	2.47	0.27	2	Rice production; ceremonialist; doctor; carpentry; trading; eggs collected and sold.
Mean		33.8	34.7	2.6 ¹	3.32	0.45	1.8	

1. The buffalo belonging to Household 67 died during the year. In Household 20, the brother who moved in owned several buffalo, thus the total for Group B was more than the number shown.

2. Average cash expenditure per day, in baht. (One baht equalled about 5 cents) Household 222 received rice as part of wages.

3. Babies born during Round IV were not included. In Household 23, a 12-year old son served as temple boy and was away from home much of the time.

4. Rainy season only, when priests could come by boat; counted as 1 in computing average.

125 fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair
552 diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially
511 at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the
434 cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12
441 baht per week.

1262 In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vegetables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ rai of land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

431 All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists,
262 and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly.
792 On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these
792 households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that
792 did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

511 Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per
728 capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 3. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A,B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

BANG CHAN

FOREWORD

114 The Cornell Thailand Project, like other Cornell University studies in community development, is a long term investigation in the field of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in a non-industrialized society. Field research was begun in 1948 in the central plain of Thailand with base line studies of the rice farming community of Bang Chan and its environs. A collaborating staff of Thai and Americans representing different disciplines has continued to work in Thailand at Bang Chan and elsewhere in a series of phases extending to the present.

[113] The first interim report issued by the Project gives a general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49 together with some material on health and diet (Sharp et al., 1953). Since the circulation [128] of this first interim report was limited, some of the salient characteristics of Bang Chan should be outlined here.

361 Bang Chan is located some twenty roadmiles northeast of Bangkok, the rapidly growing major metropolis and capital of Thailand. The village is between two and three miles west of a small district administrative center and market town, Minburi. A century-old canal and to the north of it a post-war hard surface road connect Minburi and Bangkok so that [487] villagers have easy access to these two centers by boat or [491] bus.

621 In 1954, when data for the present study were still being [162] gathered, the population of Bang Chan was about 1700, divided among about 300 households. Roughly 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent nuclear families consisting [592] of parents and unmarried children. The average size for all families was 5.7 persons. Rice farming was the main occupation of 80 per cent of all families. The population in 1954 [243] worked and lived on about 2800 acres (7000 rai) of land. With [241] the exception of some 120 acres (300 rai) used for the home sites and home gardens scattered along the network of canals in the village, all land was devoted to the cultivation of wet rice. Nutritional density is thus practically the same as [463] population density. Of the rice crop, 60 per cent or more may [317] be sold, the remainder providing seed, feed, and the staple food of the people. During the wet season and into the cooler [132] dry season, from May or June to February, the growing of the [224] single crop of rice is the main activity. The hot dry season [517] from March until the rice planting begins again is a period of fiestas, ceremonies, and visiting.

621 The Thai countryside is divided into hamlets, each with [622] a headman in charge of the thirty to sixty households of the hamlet. Seven such hamlets constitute the Bang Chan community. [128] (In the Project studies they are identified by the initials BC and KY followed by a number).

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- 228 mushrooms. The following section searches for sociological factors linked to these decisions. For example, are the well-to-do farmers* more apt than the less well-to-do to adopt agricultural innovations?
- 241 To what extent is literacy a factor in acceptance of innovations?
- 244 To what extent do differences in literacy, communications habits, cultural contacts and urban orientation account for tendencies to adopt or reject these changes?

[125]* The following analysis has been made, in most cases, for male farmers only. The distribution of initial acceptance among the three groups of male farmers, females, and male non-farmers is given in the following table.

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TABLE 6. USE OF AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS AMONG THREE GROUPS OF BANG CHAN VILLAGERS

	Male Farmers (211)	Male Non-farmers (82)	Females (32)
462 Tried motor	71%	61%	48%
228 Didn't try	29	39	52
241 Tried mushroom growing	46%	35%	41%
Didn't try	54	65	59
Tried tilapia raising	35%	25%	31%
Didn't try	65	75	69
Tried fertiliser	15%	5%	**
Didn't try	85	95	

** Asked of farmers only.

It is apparent, as one would expect, that it is mainly the farmers who try these innovations. Relatively few women (with the exception of tilapia raising) and even fewer non-farmers say they have tried them. Since the absolute number of acceptors among women and non-farmers is too small to bear the separate treatment which would be essential to analyse the factors influencing the use or non-use of innovations, they have been excluded from the following presentation, which refers, thus, to male farmers only.

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[872]

3.a. Is there anyone from your house who is now attending mattayom school?

1. Yes	24
2. No	309

b. Do you have any children who have not yet entered or not yet finished prathom school?

3. Yes	201
4. No	128
— Unascertainable	4

c. IF YES: Do you plan to send any of these children to mattayom school or not, or is it uncertain?

5. Plans to send	66
6. Does not plan to send	83
7. Unascertainable	52

• [63]

4. What kind of occupation would please you the most—farming or some other occupation? If some other occupation, what other occupation would please you the most?

1. Farmer prefers farming	266
2. Farmer prefers other occupation	25
3. R. from other occupation prefers his occupation	25
4. R. from other occupation prefers farming	8
5. R. from other occupation prefers another occupation	5
6. Unascertainable	4

5. How is Buang BC-KY in your opinion? Is it a very good place to live, a fairly good place to live, or not such a good place to live?

8. Very good	71
9. Fairly good	254
X. Not so good	4
0. Unascertainable	4

[276]

6.a. Do you smoke cigarettes or not?

7. Yes	208
8. No	118
— No Answer	7

b. If yes: Would you say that you smoke more cigarettes than most people in BC-KY, less than most people in BC-KY, or about the same as most people in BC-KY?

9. More	14
X. Less	66
Y. About the same	124
0. Unascertainable	2

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[166]
[592]

64.a. IF YES: At what age did he leave BC?

1. Below 15 years	8
2. 15 to 19 years	28
3. 20 to 29 years	50
4. 30 years or more	5
5. Unascertainable	6

d. IF YES: For how long has he (she, they) been gone from BC?

6. Less than one year	12
7. 1 to 4	42
8. 5 to 9	19
9. 10 years or more	19
X. Unascertainable	

[464]
[463]

e. IF YES: What various duties or jobs does he (she, they) do in Bangkok?

1. Housewife	17
2. Unskilled laborer	19
3. Skilled laborer	33
Armed forces	17
Service	9
Employee	5
4. Other (retired, selling things)	2
5. Unascertainable	4

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[602]

f. IF YES: During the last year, have you seen this person(s) several times, once, or not at all?

9. Several times	65
X. Once	16
Y. Not at all	8
O. Unascertainable	3

g. IF YES: Does he (she, they) make regular remittances to this house?

X. Yes	31
Y. No	56
O. Unascertainable	5

[207]

65. Do you listen to the radio regularly, daily, occasionally, seldom, or never?

6. Regularly-daily	45
7. Occasionally	66
8. Seldom	148
9. Never	60
— Unascertainable	14

[525]

66.a. Do you play the lottery regularly, occasionally, seldom, or never?

1. Regularly	20
2. Occasionally	54
3. Seldom	220
4. Never	38
5. Unascertainable	—
— No Answer	1

b. IF REGULARLY, OCCASIONALLY, OR SELDOM: Suppose you were to win the second prize of 10,000 baht. What various things would you do with this money?

(See code)

The Family

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Although the family is the smallest of social institutions, it occupies first rank in importance. For the purpose of this study family is defined as a group of persons who form a household under one head including parents, children, servants and other dependents. It is a social unit for both consumption and production. In Bangchan, members of the same family, with the possible exception of pieceworkers who have the privilege of eating with their employers only during periods of certain kinds of work, usually share the same meal although not necessarily at the same time. Physically able members are expected to contribute to family work although some may also do extra jobs for their own pocket money. In all cases family work has priority over the extra job, and in most cases members turn over all or part of the [354] earning thus realized to the family head. Although most [184] families have separate dwellings, there are instances of two families sharing the same dwelling but having separate cooking arrangement. Such cases are rare, however. According [464] [463] to our operational definition, then, a member of a biological family who has hired himself out as regularly hired laborer ceases to be a member of his own biological family and becomes a member of his employer's family. Piece workers, on the other hand, although they may occasionally eat with their employers, still retain membership of their biological family if they still live with them. Finally, people who live in the same dwelling may not belong to the same family if they

Appearance of New Families in Bangchan

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In the pairing of the 1949 and 1953 censuses against each other the appearance of new families was detected as was the disappearance of some of the old families which has just been discussed. Table 5 shows that there were 53 new families, but five of these were merely cases of reappearance of existing families from other hamlets of the same village. Actually, therefore, there were only 48 families that were really new in Bangchan.

Of these 48 new families, 27 moved into the village from the outside and 21 evolved from existing families in Bangchan. Of the 27 immigrating families, 18 came from the bordering villages and 9 from distant villages in all directions ranging from Lardprao and Samsen, some ten miles to the southwest, to Prachin, over a hundred miles to the east. [463] While the eighteen families from the bordering were accustomed, as expected, to rice growing, not all of the nine families from distant villages had been farmers. A family head of one of these nine families came from a family of fruit growers, while another family head, who apparently had a more spectacular record, had been engaged in international rice trading. This latter man, who knew some English, had worked in a large rice mill in Nonburi which was exporting rice under strict government control after the war. Discovery by the government agent of irregularities of the firm led to the man's flight abroad to Hongkong or Swatow some eight years ago. It is assumed with his

CHAPTER III
COMMUNITY ECONOMY

Occupational Structure in Bangchan

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434 At the completion of the 1949 census, by which time we had spent nine months in the village, we categorized Bangchan's 288 families primarily on the basis of the principal source of income of the family head. Though the categories derived suffered from some overlapping and ambiguity, we found them useful for survey and other purposes. The descriptions of each occupational category, as found in Tables 9, 10 and 11, appear on pages 111 through 113 of the primary report.¹ As they will be constantly referred to, they will be summarized here:

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• 463 1. Farm operator. Main income from growing rice on his own or rented land.

2. Farm laborer. Main income from working on local farm operators' farms, as regularly hired laborer for an entire rice season or at casual farm jobs for which wages are contracted on the basis of piece-work or days worked, for example, transplanting or harvesting rice, digging ditches, or deepening fish pools. Some families in this category supplement their real income with rice which they cultivate

1. Sharp, Hauck, Janlekha, and Textor, op. cit., pp. 111-113.

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7: Janlekha X-4.5 (1948-1953)p956 A07 Central Thai A07
Bangchan

TABLE 9
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949*

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	25	25	38	37	25	37	42	229
F. laborers	7	1	2	10	1	-	6	27
Traders	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	7
Investors	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Professional	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Public servants	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Home enterprisers	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	1	1	3	-	8
Total	43	27	44	54	28	43	49	288

* Some figures in this table differ slightly from those reported on pages 114-5 of the preliminary study (Sharp, Hauck, Janlekha and Textor, Siamese Rice Village) because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

TABLE 10
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	26	19	33	42	28	31	37	216
F. laborers	6	3	8	7	2	5	7	38
Traders	4	4	2	6	1	2	2	21
Investors	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	5
Professional	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Public servants	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	7
Home enterprisers	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	2	-	2	1	8
Total	40	28	47	63	31	42	47	298

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 11
CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

Occupation	Actual		Distribution		Changes
	Per Cent				
	1949	1953	1949	1953	
Farm operators	229	216	80	72	-8
Farm laborers	27	38	9	13	+4
Traders	7	21	2	7	+5
Investors	4	5	1	2	+1
Professional	3	1	1	+	-1
Public servants	5	7	2	2	
Home enterprisers	4	1	1	+	-1
Priest or novice	1	1	+	+	
Miscellaneous	8	8	3	3	
Total	288	298	100	100	

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434 on a small plot that they own or rent, but all families
463 in this category derive their main income from wages.

3. Trader. Main income from the more or less regular sale, not production, of rather considerable amounts of goods. Perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, we have not included in this category those very few families who derive their main income from production of cookies or the like, even though such families might themselves perform the selling of their products to local consumers; such families are included in the 'home enterpriser' category below.

[426]
[427]

4. Investor. Main income from land rent, interest on loans, and/or speculative gain.

5. Professional. Main income from such specialties as midwifery or dramatic entertainment.

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6. Public servant. Main income from, or majority of working time spent in, government employment. This is the only category in which we had to add the additional criterion of "majority of working time"; government pay is rather low, and one person who works full time in the employ of the government actually receives more income from other sources.

[275]

[622]

This category includes regular government officials, teachers and school janitors. The hamlet headmen are not included, however, as their main incomes are otherwise derived and their remuneration from the government is extremely low. They maintain no daily routine as public servants. The headmen are all farm operators, except one who is an investor.

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• 463 7. Home enterpriser. Main income from food or handi-
craft articles produced at home.

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792 8. Priest or novice. Though priests and novices do
463 not receive salaries or wages, their maintenance, which comes
from the temple and directly from the people in the form of
contributions, is their main income. This category includes
only permanent priests and novice personnel. Excluded here-
are all residents who enter the priesthood more or less per-
functorily for just a few months. Since sexual abstinence
is demanded of all monastic personnel, no wives or offspring
are found in this category.

434 9. Miscellaneous. The main income source for the
eight families in this category is obscure. The heads of
these families are not known to have any steady occupations.

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463 Table 9 shows the occupational distribution of
621 Bangchan families as of 1949. It may be observed that some
of the figures in this table differ slightly from those
reported in the preliminary study previously cited. This
is because errors such as duplications and omissions in
the original census have been detected and corrected.

Table 10 shows the same distribution as of 1953,
and Table 11 the change in the occupational structure of
the village that took place during the four intervening
years. In 1949, 80 per cent of Bangchan families were farm
operators. Four years later, the figure was reduced to 73
per cent. While there was no percentage change in the
figures for public servants, miscellaneous, and priest or

173 novice; there were noticeable increases in those for farm
• 463 laborers and traders, and a slight increase in that for
621 investors, which were offset by a marked decrease in figures
for farm operators and slight drops in those for the profes-
sional and home enterprisers. In order to understand these
changes in the occupational structure of the village, more
information on some of these occupation than that given in
our operational definitions at the beginning of this chapter
is necessary.

243 Farm operation is a traditional way of life in the
434 village. The primary motive is to secure enough rice for
463 consumption. A secondary motive is to have cash from sale
of surplus rice to buy goods that are not produced locally.

243 Farm laboring as a profession is limited to the poor.
464 Farm laborers, occupying the lowest status in the village,
554 are the most unstable and socially disintegrated group.
621 They are not fully employed even during the work seasons
463 of the year because there are too many of them in the local-
ity. Thus, they exist in the village not because of demand
for their work but because they have no opportunity for
other occupations.

621 There were twenty-one families that were classified
463 as traders in 1953. Of these, nine were permanent store-
463 keepers, and twelve were peddlers selling food stuffs from
door to door. Stores were situated at strategic places in
the village -- two at the crossing of Minburi Road and
Bangchan Canal which is the natural entrance into the village.

62/ four in the immediate neighborhood of the temple or on the
• 463 temple ground itself, and three on the banks of up-canal
443 Bangchan. These stores varied in the size of business but
the goods sold were almost identical. To be found in each
store were inexpensive articles of daily use, mostly dry
foods, cookies, tobacco, betel, areca, lime, toilet articles,
matches, kerosene, and farm materials like ropes. Most of
these stores also sold hot coffee, soft drinks, and liquor.
It should be noted in this connection that the market town
is only two miles away. This nearness to a large market
adversely affects the nature and volume of business of local
traders in two ways -- villagers bypass local stores and go
to the market town for varieties and large purchase, and the
village is daily invaded by a number of peddlers from the
town selling perishable foods.

443 While local stores operated the whole year round, the
463 activities of twelve other trader families classified as
peddlers were highly seasonal subject to local water condi-
tion, seasonal demand for purchased food, seasonal supply
of cash, and alternative income on the part of the peddlers
themselves. These peddlers sold small quantities of vege-
tables, fruit, and the cheap salt water platoo fish (Rastrel-
liger chrysoronus), receiving in exchange from buyers cash,

[426] eggs, or paddy. Extension of credit was necessary for vil-
lagers did not have cash especially during the period from
July to November. The following passages in the author's
daily note dated January 12, 1953 gives an idea as to how

443 she wanted to spend more time collecting debts."

221 It should be noted that A's brief duration of peddl-
433 ing started in the harvesting season. During this time the
434 village cash supply was high, resulting in demand for such
443 a delicacy as pork which normally constituted a negligible
261 fraction of the diet of Bangchan people. This is a good
262 business period for the peddlers. Another good business
period, although not as good as the harvesting time, is in
the transplanting season, when farmers are too busy to pro-
cure their own food (by fishing). In this latter period,
farmers are not particular about food, and "anything eatable
sells, provided liberal credit is allowed" for people have
neither time nor money.

443 It should be noted also that many smaller peddlers
did not go to Bangkok as did Nang A. The small peddlers,
who operated on a very limited working capital, had to sell
their eggs to larger peddlers at discounted prices. Our
records show that only three or four peddlers took regular
trips to Bangkok.

427 Five families were classified as investors in 1953.

434 All these families lived on rents from land, interest on
454 loans, and income from speculative sources such as buying
621 paddy when the price was low and selling it at high prices.

• 463 Actually, most of these five families were not among large
426 land owners in the village. Their combined land was only
134 rai, averaging only 27 rai per family and ranging from
10 to 76 rai. This is a small acreage in comparison to

427 the combined land of five leading farm operators of 693
434 rai, averaging 139 rai per operator and ranging from 83
454 to 235 rai. It must be remembered that our operational
621 definition of occupations was based on the main source of
463 income and that many of the villagers had more than one
426 source of income. Investors as an occupational class in
Bangchan should not be pictured as large landlords and large
money lenders, possessing financial influences over their
tenants and debtors. Rather, they were humble fellow vil-
lagers whose incomes were mainly derived from rents of small
parcels of land or interest on small loans. To cite an
extreme case, one aged woman was classified as an investor.
She had only 17 rai which she rented out to her own son.
She was living alone in an old shack and was too old to do
any kind of work. She received as rent about a hundred
tang of paddy a year which is equivalent to an annual in-
come of only 800 baht. Thus she was considered one among
the poor in the village.

178 There were three families whose occupations were
463 classified as professional in 1949. The number was reduced
621 to one in 1953. The head of this family was a Chinese car-
322 penter who derived his income primarily from boat building.

Again, it must be pointed out that reduction of the number
of families primarily engaged in professional services does
not mean that professional services had been declining.

[305] On the contrary, they had been increasing. There were three
barbers in 1953 as against only one in 1949. More traditional

178 doctors were practicing in 1953 than in 1949, while there
• 463 was no change in the number of midwives. In most cases,
621 however, these professional services had ceased to be the
main sources of income of the families engaging in them.

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434 In 1953, occupation defined as public service in-
463 cluded the jobs of an educational supervisor, one teacher,
647 two school janitors, two workers in the government-owned
[375] Bangkok Harf, and one policeman. Actually, there were five
Bangchan residents who were teaching in 1953. Only one of
these, however, was a family head. Two of the other four
teachers were husband and wife living with the wife's mother
who was classified as an investor -- the most prosperous
of the investors mentioned earlier in this section. Another
teacher, a wife, was also living with her mother who was
also an investor. The last teacher, also a wife, was living
independently with her husband who was operating a rice farm,
and the occupation of the family was thus classified as farm
operating. With the possible exception of the policeman,
all these public servants were well paid in the village
standard, ranging from some four hundred baht a month for
a janitor to eight hundred baht for the educational super-
visor. After the 1953 census was taken, more regular jobs
were opened to Bangchan residents by the Highways Department,
and also more people took up regular jobs of a public service
nature in Bangkok while retaining residence in Bangchan by
commuting daily between the village and their offices. Thus,
[178] although the percentage figures remain constant during

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1949-53, in actuality public service as an occupation is increasing in Bangchan.

There were four home enterprisers in 1949, mostly engaged in making cookies. As in case of the professional, this activity still existed in Bangchan, but by 1953 it had degenerated into a secondary income, leaving the lone case of basket making in the home enterprise category.

Only one family head was classified in 1953 as a home-enterpriser. The family was engaged in making takraw -- a cane utensil used in picking mangoes from the tree. On January 27, 1953 we met A, the head of this family, who was taking 103 takraws of various sizes to sell in Bangkok.

[435] A gave the amounts and prices of these takraws as follows: 56 large size, @ 3.00 baht; 31 medium size, @ 2.50 baht; 16 small size, @ 2.00 baht. A said he and his wife worked on these 103 takraws alone, and finished them in twelve days, using 50 baht worth of materials including cane, wood, and binders. Ordinarily, they started making takraws in December and continued through May. They were able to make about 3,000 baht within this period. They also made other things like baskets, but takraws were their main source of income. In rice growing season, they also did some piece working. They did not operate a farm. Piece working and basketry during rice growing season brought them a combined income of about 2,000 baht. The amount of each kind of basketry they made was not as constant as takraws. It depended more on which paid best. Their total annual income

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434 amounted to somewhere around 5,000 baht, which was about
• 469 four times as much as the labor earnings of an average rice
621 farm operator as we shall see later.

178 The present occupational situation and accounts of
463 the changes in the past few years alone may not be enough
to give us a complete picture of occupational development
since the beginning of the history of Bangchan. Fortunately,
however, since settlement in the village in a considerable
scale took place only some eighty years ago, evidence
from genealogical studies has provided us with ample materials
on which a reconstruction of the past development may be made.

[175] When Bangchan was being settled in the 1870's, as a
probable consequence of the increasing national and inter-
national demand for rice and the revolutionary change in Thai
society, every family was naturally a farm operator family.
As long as there was land available for clearing, opportunity
would be open for every new family, either branching off
from the old ones or moving in from the outside, to operate
a rice farm.

(161) Eventually, population grew up to a size large enough
(194) to support a temple in 1895. Population growth and the
(175) emergence of a village center at the temple prompted occu-
pational specialization. At the beginning, investing, trad-
ing, professional servicing, and home enterprising probably
took the forms of secondary occupations, while farm operating
remained the primary occupation throughout. In time, these
secondary occupations became more and more specialized and

178 finally, for a few families, took precedence over rice
• 463 growing. The relative importance of these new occupations
remained low, however, since only a few families were
needed to meet the village requirements for such services.

434 The establishment of the primary school some thirty
647 years ago opened up new jobs as teachers and janitors for
875 some educated villagers who were given preference over out-
[372] siders. It should be noted, nevertheless, that at the
beginning the primary school teachers were not considered
as regular officials and their pay was as low as six baht
a month during the prewar years. Even during the war, they
did not get as proportionately large a cost-of-living raise
as did other regular officials. It was only after the war
that they were made regular officials and that their pay
rose almost a hundred times to 450 to 550 baht a month with
provision for a steady raise to more than one thousand baht
[48] a month. This new occupation in public service also in-
creased with the extension of the central government employ-
ment into the rural areas and with improved transportation
facilities which permitted an individual to commute daily
between his office in Bangkok and his home in Bangchan.
Thus, a Bangchan resident is now serving as an educational
supervisor in the nearby Minburi District and a few others
are on the regular payroll of the government-owned Bangkok
wharf.

*243 With the background knowledge of the situation of
464 Bangchan farm laborers previously described in mind, we may

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243 hypothesize that the presence of farm laborer families in
464 a rice growing village indicates a condition of land scar-
621 city. This is to be distinguished from the presence of farm
463 laborer families in intensive farming areas such as the truck
gardening villages along the Damnernsaduag Canal and planta-
tion villages in Choburi where the marginal product of
labor, even with the same crude implement, is much higher
than that in the non-intensive rice growing areas. Usually,
there are farm laborers in any commercial rice growing region,
but they consist of members of farm operator families with
excess family workers who work for their own lampai. With
low marginal product of labor, the demand for extra labor
outside the family is not great and is highly seasonal
in rice growing villages, resulting in extremely low total
income for farm laborers. Piece-working is thus only good
as a subsidiary income for an under-employed farm operator
family, and certainly not as the main source of income for
any family. Farm laborer families such as those existing
in Bangchan are indigenous and are the outgrowth of compe-
tition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on
the part of those who failed to rent in any land. These
people prefer to remain in the home village, willing to accept
meager income from piece-work which is perhaps the only type
of job they could get in the village, in the meantime trying
to eke out as much as possible from what nature has to offer
in the form of fish or uncultivated aquatic plants. The
abrupt rise of farm laborer families in Bangchan from nine

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*243 per cent in 1949 to thirteen per cent in 1953 suggests that
464 the problem of population pressure on land has become more
621 acute, although it may also indicate changes in the cost.
161 structure of rice production which will be discussed in
178 Chapter VI.

494 Concluding the discussion of this section, we may
• 463 say that rice growing is the core of the occupational struc-
222 ture of Bangchan around which other occupations rotate. It
226 is not uncommon that one family has several occupations,
* [243] and in addition to income from these most families get "free"
food in the forms of fish and uncultivated aquatic plants.
This is the principal reason why families with apparently
no cash income still thrive.

433 It is conceivable that in years of poor rice crop
434 the family put more effort in the secondary occupations;
22 when such an attempt does not work out well -- for example,
[136] no work for manual labor and no capital for trivial trade --
an effort is made to obtain subsistence directly from nature.

In any event, every family in the village is engaged
[136] in fishing in varying degree. It is because of this fact
coupled with the fact that the village fish supply is de-
creasing that the problem of fish conservation is very
important.

*243 Finally, the dynamic nature of rice farming, with
varying efforts on getting extra jobs and securing free food
outside the farm depending upon the increase and decrease
of the rice crop, suggests that the economy of any rice

*128 While this "functional" classification of land tenure
423 does not eliminate all of the shortcomings of the conventional
427 method which have been accentuated by land scarcity, it evidently helps to bring about a clearer economic picture of the farm. If the primary purpose of land tenure classification is merely to establish a plain typology of the land holding situation for its own sake only, the conventional method might suffice even in farm labor underemployment areas. On the other hand, if we want to probe further into the business aspect of the farm, as we propose to do in Part II of this study, then a more revealing system of classification is perhaps necessary.

243 It has been mentioned earlier in this section that
423 of 6,722 rai planted to rice by Bangchan residents a total
427 of 4,315 rai was locally owned (Table 18) and that a total
463 area rented in from outside renters was some 2,407 rai.
621 Since the net area rented out by local renters was 1,186 rai (Table 21), the proportion of outside renters to local renters was roughly two to one. Table 21 shows that there were 21 local renters whose main occupations were distributed among landlord-operators, trader, investors, and public servants, and that an average area rented out by each local renter was 56.5 rai.

Table 22 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by operators, and Table 23 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by non-operators.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953) 1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 21

NET AREAS RENTED OUT BY VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Occupation	Number	Total Area	Ave. Area	Range
		rai	rai	rai
Landlord-operator	10	683	68.3	5-170
Trader	5	189	37.8	17- 86
Investor	4	149	37.3	17- 76
Public servant	2	165	82.5	5-160
Total	21	1,186*	56.5	5-170

* This figure is slightly less than total area rented out of 1,203 rai in Table 18 because net figures are used here.

TABLE 23

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED BY NON-OPERATORS
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Class	Frequency	Total Area	Ave. Area	Range
		rai	rai	rai
Farm laborer	2	8	4.0	2- 6
Trader	8	184	23.0	3- 86
Investor	5	164	32.8	10- 76
Public seryant	2	167	83.5	7-160
Total	17	523	30.8	2-160

369 It should be noted also that once a villager has moved
167 into Bangkok he will be deprived of the privilege to
162 acquire free food from nature -- an important economic
advantage of living in the village which counts heavily
when emigration to the city is being seriously contemplated.

427 It is seen, then, that the demand for land on the
423 part of land-thirty operators -- the tenants, part-owners,
and owner-operators -- was high and inelastic, while the
demand for land on the part of land-saturated landlord-
operators was low and elastic. Since the combined demand
of all landlord-operators constituted only a small fraction
of the total demand (Table 20), it may be safely concluded
that the aggregate demand for land in Bangchan at the period
we are dealing with was high and inelastic.

311 Let us now consider the supply side of land. For
423 the purpose of this discussion we may differentiate four
427 sources of supply of a total of 6,722 rai considered to
● 463 represent our natural Bangchan area. They are:

1. Land-thirsty operators -- all for implicit rent.
 - a, Owner-operators 2,131 rai
 - b, Part-owners 227 rai
 - c, Tenants 225 rai
 - Sub-total 2,583 rai
2. Land-saturated operators (landlord-operators).
 - a, For implicit rent 517 rai
 - b, For explicit rent 683 rai
 - Sub-total 1,220 rai
3. Local non-operators -- all for explicit rent.
 - a, Traders 189 rai
 - b, Investors 149 rai
 - c, Public servants 165 rai
 - Sub-total 503 rai

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4. Non-indigenous landlords 2,416 rai (all for
explicit rent).

To understand the working of the supply forces, it is necessary to break the non-indigenous landlords down into those living in the neighborhood of Bangchan, which we shall henceforth call the neighboring landlords, and those living far away, which we shall call the absentee landlords. It is regrettable that accurate figures for these breakdowns were not available, but it may be estimated on the basis of some known cases that they were roughly of the same proportion, that is, some 1,208 rai in this category were owned by neighboring landlords and the same amount by absentee landlords. On the basis of the same known cases, it may be generalized that the area of land owned by an average absentee landlord was larger than that owned by an average neighboring landlord.

It is obvious that the individual supply of land varies according to the type of the people who have command over it. Generally speaking, land-thirsty operators who supply part of their own working areas should provide an inelastic supply of land, for they will continue to offer to themselves all the land they own regardless of how the rent rate may change. All lands owned by land-thirsty operators yield only implicit rents, for if they are rented out for explicit rents, the landowners of the parcels in question would have changed their status to landlord-operators.

CHAPTER IV
FARMING POPULATION

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621 It was indicated in the section on occupational structure in Bangchan, Chapter III, that there were two groups of villagers whose main incomes were directly derived from farming -- the farm operating and farm laboring families. These two groups constituted 254 out of a total of 296 families in the village in 1953 (Table 10). It should be noted, however, that Table 10 was constructed on the basis of the principal source of income of the family heads, and that the family was taken as a unit.

When individual farm workers are considered, four groups may be differentiated: (1) Farm operators; (2) Family workers; (3) Hired laborers; and (4) Piece-workers.

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593 Farm operators are those who are assumed to actively manage the farm. Actually, it has been observed that some wives did direct the farm work while their husbands assumed only a passive role. It is rather difficult, however, to point out among some one hundred couples which spouse actually manages the family farm. To save time, and perhaps embarrassment, it was assumed that, where both husband and wife were involved, the husband -- the official family head -- was the farm operator regardless of his actual role.

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Table 30 shows that the size of the sample has continuously decreased from 104 in 1948 to 103 in 1949, 98 in 1950, 96 in 1951, 96 in 1952, and finally 87 in 1953.¹ It should be noted, however, that we re-visited the village in 1952 and that most of our materials on business and living aspects of the farms were gathered from the sample-farms existing in that year; hence we occasionally referred to the sample of 96 continuing farms.

One way of minimizing the problem of declining size of the sample is to include in the sample new farm operating families which have branched out from the original sample-families. It was found that there were ten such families when we re-visited the village to continue the study in 1952. If this method were adopted, it would mean that the size of our sample would then be 106 farms, a figure which does not differ very much from the original size of 104 farms in 1948.

Another way of solving the problem is to abolish the continuing operator approach entirely in favor of the re-sampling approach -- that is, a fixed sample size is chosen and new sampling is done every time a new survey is to be conducted. This approach, however, has the drawback that

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1. According to Table 14, crop indices were as low as 86.8 for 1949, and 87.5 for 1952; while those for 1948, 1950 and 1951 were 111.4, 111.1 and 102.7 respectively. It is worth noting that a relatively large number of farm operators changed their occupation (or moved out of the village) in 1950 and 1953. When Table 14 is studied together with Table 30, it is seen that there is a close correlation between change in occupation (or change of farming place) and crop failure in the preceding year.

TABLE 30

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION OF 104 SELECTED OPERATORS*
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

Occupation	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Farm operator	104	103	98	96	96	87
Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	1	3
Trader	-	-	-	-	-	2
Investor	-	1	1	1	1	3
Professional	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public servant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Home enterpriser	-	-	-	-	-	-
Priest or novice	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disappeared	-	-	5	7	6	8
Total	104	104	104	104	104	104

* Explanation for these changing occupations:
1949 A became an investor.

1950 B moved out to unknown locality.
C moved out to Lam Kralog.
D moved out to Sai Kong Din.
E moved out to Bang Plee.
F moved out to Bang Plee.

1951 G died, and family moved out to unknown locality.
H moved to Bangkok.

1952 H moved back from Bangkok into the village, became
farm laborer.

1953 I moved to Lard Krabang.
J stopped farming, became an investor.
K stopped farming, became an investor.
L stopped farming, became a trader.
M stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
N stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
O's occupation became obscure (under miscellaneous).
P stopped farming, became a trader.
Q's family lost its identity, was annexed by a farm
operating family not in the sample.

*243 included in the items of cost of producing paddy, and there-
621 fore we do not have the figure for this item of farm expenses.
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It was earlier mentioned in the section on occupa-
434 tional structure in Bangchan that most villagers regardless
464 of their main occupations did perform some piece-work for
621 either main or subsidiary incomes. It is almost impossible,
• 463 then, to give an exact figure of the number of piece-workers
in any one year. For the purpose of this study, however,
we may arbitrarily differentiate between the "professional"
and the "non-professional" piece-workers. Here, the classi-
fication suffers much overlapping -- even more than does the
classification of the occupation of the villagers, for we
cannot even use the concept of the main source of income as
a criterion in this connection. It was mentioned that farm
laborers existed in Bangchan not because of demand for their
work but because they have no opportunity for other occupa-
tions (page 100). Thus, if the main source of income was
used as the criterion for differentiating the "professional"
piece-workers, this group would include, for example, the
old woman described in Case 7 page 69, who after having been
left alone had managed to get a small income from trans-
planting which was the only type of farm work she could
perform. The main source of income was also not a good
criterion considering the fact that most piece-work was
done by family members after their obligation to the family
464 farm had been fulfilled. In a desperate attempt to differ-
463 entiate the professional from the non-professional piece-workers

463 we finally settled on an arbitrary definition: a professional piece-worker was one who was ready most of the time to be called upon to perform piecework. This automatically eliminated the school children who were able to work only during the school recesses, the poor aged people who had to make a living in one form or another but who were able to perform only the lightest kind of piecework -- transplanting, and members of the well-to-do families who did some piecework for a small amount of pocket money only.

Adopting this arbitrary operational definition, it may be assumed that professional pieceworkers include all members of the laboring families, small farm operating families, and other families of various occupations not financially well off, who are old enough yet not too old to work and who are not currently engaged in some other kinds of work.

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465 Table 34 shows work records of the 34 farm laborers earlier mentioned. It is seen that of these 34 laborers, only six had remained hired laborers throughout the periods of their farm work. These were Laborers 8, 9, 11, 22, 27, and 28. The other laborers were observed to have assumed various other statuses in the course of the five-year period from 1949 to 1953, namely, farm operator, pieceworker, family worker, and transient family worker. When these laborers were interviewed, they also gave estimates of their earnings from pieceworking as far as they could remember. In 1949, for example, piecework earning figures were available from

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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TABLE 34

WORK RECORDS OF 34 SELECTED FARM LABORERS
IN BANGCHAN AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD
Thailand, 1949-53

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Laborer Number	Age in 1953	Working Status				
		1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
1	23	HL	HL	FW	HL	FW
2	39	FW	FW	FW	HL	HL
3	42	...	...	FW	FW	HL
4	27	HL	HL	FW	FW	FW
5	28	HL	HL	FW	FW	FW
6	23	FW	FW	HL	HL	...
7	25	FW	...	HL	HL	HL
8	22	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
9	23	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
10	52	HL	HL	X	HL	HL
11	19	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
12	32	FW	FW	FW	FW	HL
13	33	FW	FW	FW	HL	HL
14	30	TFW	HL	HL	FW	FW
15	35	FW	HL	HL	HL	FW
16	20	...	TFW	TFW	HL	...
17	45	FW	FW	HL	FW	FW
18	50	FW	FW	HL	HL	HL
19	31	X	FW	HL	...	HL
20	20	TFW	TFW	TFW	FW	FW
21	19	TFW	TFW	HL	HL	HL
22	17	...	...	HL	HL	...
23	21	TFW	TFW	TFW	TFW	HL
24	23	TFW	HL	HL	...	HL
25	17	...	...	TFW	...	HL
26	40	...	...	TFW	TFW	HL
27	26	...	...	...	HL	HL
28	18	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
29	63	FW	FW	X	FW	HL
30	30	FW	X	X	FW	HL
31	36	HL	HL	HL	FW	FW
32	16	...	...	...	FW	HL
33	23	FW	HL	HL	HL	HL
34	20	...	HL	TFW	HL	HL

Key to abbreviations:

FO -- farm operator

HL -- hired laborer

FW -- pieceworker

F -- family worker

TFW -- transient family worker

X -- farm laborer elsewhere

(...) -- not engaged in farm work

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two laborers -- 1,000 baht for Laborer 7 and 900 baht for Laborer 30, averaging 950 baht for the year. In 1950, earnings of 500, 850, and 1,000 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 18, 19, and 29, averaging 763 baht for the year. In 1951, only one case of 600 baht earning was reported by Laborer 5. In 1952, earnings of 600, 1,000, 1,000, 1,000, and 350 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 5, 14, 29, 30, and 32, averaging 790 baht for the year. In 1953, earnings of 2,000, 600, 1,000, and 300 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 4, 5, 14, and 15, averaging 975 baht for the year.⁴

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In the preceding paragraph, the term "transient family worker" was introduced. This refers to a person distantly or not at all related to the family in question who has been accepted as a family member with a dual status of half relative and half laborer. Since there is actually no genuine family tie, such member has been observed to come in and go out of the family rather freely as the occasion may arise, and hence the term "transient". While staying with the family, the transient member is expected to participate in the family work that is appropriate to him in exchange for food, shelter, clothing, and occasional monetary gifts.

[465]

In 1946, we came across a case where an old man of 80 was living with one of the seven headmen of Bangchan as

4. Table 53 gives an idea of the meaning in real terms of these incomes.

132 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member
464 arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It
592 has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic
security, since they might arrange to join some families
in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the prin-
cipal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is
considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By
sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family,
the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their
families and thus had managed to prevent their level of
living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence.
As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that
they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by
transient family workers.

* 243 Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan

178 Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in
463 Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while
621 the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived
[592] from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same
period.

When the farm operating families were studied indi-
vidually, it was found that 181 families had been operating
their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There
were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list
of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new
operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating
families during the period from 1949 to 1953.

*249

16 Of the 48 families disappearing from the 1953 list
178 of farm operators in the village, 21 moved out, 2 were
annexed, and 25 were dropped from the list because they
• 463 had changed their occupations to some other kinds. Among
these last mentioned, four had become investors, three
traders, thirteen laborers, one public servant, and four
had obscure occupations.

Of the 35 new farm operating families, 17 were
immigrants moving into the village during the period be-
tween 1949 and 1953, 14 had evolved from pre-existing fam-
ilies, and four were families already existing in the vil-
lage in 1949 but were then having some occupations other
than farm operating. Among the four families last mentioned,
three were formerly farm laboring families, and one was
formerly an investor family.

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178 The fact that there were as many as twenty-five
families leaving farm operating occupation as against only
463 four families entering it within the same period seemed to
indicate that farm operation as an occupation had become
less attractive in Bangchan during recent years.

It may be argued that former farm operators who had
given up farming did so because of the force of special
circumstances beyond their control, and that the change
to other occupations was not due to the relative unattrac-
[427] tiveness of farm operation. A tenant operator, for example,
might have to leave the farm because his landlord no longer
wanted him to work on the parcel. In fact one such case was

*243 reported where the tenant had to leave the farm in the
178 beginning of 1953 and had since become a hired laborer.

• 463 This was Laborer 12 shown in Table 34. In most cases of
[527] farm operators who had become farm laborers, however, they
were marginal operators working on areas too small to pro-
vide decent incomes. It was found that the total working
area in 1948 of thirteen farm operators who had become farm
laborers was 94 rai, averaging only 7 rai per farm. It is
possible to speculate, then, that low farm income was a
major factor in the occupational shift among these thirteen
families. To the extent that this speculation is accept-
able, it may be inferred that the shift to the farm laboring
profession among these thirteen cases was voluntary rather
than a result of special circumstances beyond their control.

The relative unattractiveness of farm operation stands
out clearly when the cases where former farm operators taking
up new occupations other than farm laboring were considered.
As mentioned earlier, there were twelve of these of which
four had become investors, three traders, one a public servant,
and four had obscure occupations. Among those having obscure
occupations, two were families of old people apparently with-
out any income, one family head was allegedly engaged in
no occupation except gambling if this could be considered
an occupation at all, and one family head -- the sole member
of a one-man household -- was also a person of no known
occupation. For obvious reason, these four cases should
be left out of consideration, leaving only those who had

*243 become investors, traders, and public servant. In 1948,
178 these eight families were operating farms of a combined
• 463 area of 286 rai, ranging from 20 rai to 80 rai, averaging
[311] 36 rai per farm. Seven of these eight families owned rice
fields totalling 201 rai, ranging from 5 rai to 80 rai,
averaging 29 rai per family owning land. Evidently, it
may be said that these seven families deliberately had
given up farming in favor of new occupations from which
they expected higher remunerations. As for the one family
owning no land, the same generalization still holds. This
family was operating a 22-rai farm in 1948, a farm of
optimum size which could be expected to yield a higher
income than any of those operated by the thirteen former
[444] operators who had turned farm laborers. The head of this
[445] family, nevertheless, got a permanent job in the Bangkok
Harbor, a government owned concern, with a salary of more
than 7,000 baht annually which is much higher than his
former net income from operating a rented farm.

A case has thus been built for the relative unattractiveness of farm operating occupation among a certain sector of farm operators who had shifted to other occupations. This was responsible for the decline of farm operating occupation from 80 per cent of the occupational structure of the village in 1949 to 72 per cent in 1953 (Table 11). If it had not been for the 14 new families branching out from existing families who had taken up farming during the period between 1949 and 1953, the decline would have been more abrupt.

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There are reasons to believe that newly established indigenous families had tended to take up farming. First, rice growing is probably the only profession that these newly wed couples had been properly trained for.⁵ Second, during their nascent period their financial preparation had been oriented toward starting a rice farm. This is best illustrated by a remark of a Bangchan operator whose daughter and her husband were about to start an independent family:

A (informant's son-in-law) is now (1954) 24 years old. I have known him since 1948 when he was a transient family member of B. A married my daughter C in 1952 and has since been living with me. He is a very diligent man who works even in the dry season -- digging earth and that sort of thing (for his own lampai).

I gave the couple 200 tang of paddy for their lampai for last year's work. I am going to give them the product from 10 rai for this year's work.

Already the couple have accumulated from their lampai the following: two baht weight of gold, lumber enough to construct a farm house, and 100 tang of paddy. I told them not to keep their money in cash. When they receive a certain amount of money, I instruct them to buy durable goods like lumber or buffaloes. But if they want to lend out money, it's all right with me. Any way, they are not to keep cash. By the way, they have loaned out the 100 tang of paddy, so they will have more paddy when that amount is returned with interest.

The couple will leave me next year. They have most of the things they need for starting a family now. In fact they wanted to start out this year, but I asked them to stay on another year.

When they leave me next year, I will give them the customary parental gifts -- one buffalo, one plow, one harrow, one clothing container, and paddy for seed and for consumption.

5. See the section on training for farm work.

* 243 Third, among the land owning class the newly established
• 463 family usually received from their parents an outright
[423] gift of land or the benefit of free use of a certain
[431] area of land for two or more years. They would not
receive this gift if they did not pursue rice farming.

It is seen, then, that while rice growing might have become less attractive as an occupation, there are still some cultural factors that have been working to confirm the Bangchan villagers in their preference for rice cultivation.